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A
L E T T E R

To the AUTHOR of the

C A S E

FAIRLY STATED,

From an O L D W H I G.

-----*ab uno*

Disce omnes.

V I R G.

L O N D O N:

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A

L E T T E R

To the AUTHOR of the

C A S E

F A I R L Y S T A T E D.

S I R,

AS you have appealed to the Publick by printing your Letter to one of your Constituents, I shall take the Liberty of giving you my Opinion of your Conduct during the last Session of Parliament; and if, in doing this, I should speak freely of Men and Things, you may thank

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yourself

yourself for it, who have set me such a Precedent for both.

I very well remember the general Tenour of Conversation among your Friends, in the beginning of the Winter. The time was now come to shew the difference between you, and those who had deserted you: Chance, and the Pride, and Folly of Ministers had thrown an Opportunity in your way, which you little expected, and you were determined to make such a use of it, as should convince the Nation of your steady adherence to its true Interest: One Party had offered you *Charte blanche*, but you were more inclined to treat with the other, as thinking the Union was likely to be more permanent: But with whatever Set of Men you treated, your first Care should be to obtain some substantial Advantage for the Publick; the providing

viding of Places for yourselves should only be your secondary View. Such were the Discourses with which you amused the Town at the opening of the Session; how well your Actions have squared with these Professions, we shall be better able to judge, when we have examined the Contents of your Letter. You begin by saying, that the News of a Breach between the Ministers was received with Joy in Town; it certainly was received with great Joy by you and your Friends; by those, who have constantly opposed and ridiculed the vigorous Measures taken by the Parliament, and applauded by the Nation; by those, who were not ashamed to propose the abandoning of our natural Allies, contrary to the Faith and Tenour of all our Engagements; by those, who were perpetually declaiming on the
common-

common-place Topick, that *Great-Britain* was an *Island*, and had nothing to do with the Affairs of the *Continent*; by those, who were willing, that *France* should parcel out the Dominions of *Europe* among its Dependents, and who therefore, could not be averse to seeing this Country, at last, receive Laws and Law-givers from our proud and inveterate Enemy.

I am justified in saying, that you must have foreseen this terrible Event to be a natural Consequence of our abandoning the common Cause, by a remarkable Paragraph in your Letter, where you say: *Our Honour, our Safety is now at Stake; for if Great-Britain, after the Part she has taken, should be reduced to that melancholy Necessity of withdrawing her Forces before a General Peace be made, the Consequences are obvious. Every*
Power

Power in Europe, either actually at War with France, or virtually so by her Engagements with the Queen of Hungary, must make their separate Treaties of Peace with that Crown, and those Treaties will be so many Sacrifices of the Commerce of Great-Britain. Who does not see, that if we had instantly withdrawn our Troops, the Maritime Towns of Flanders must, before this time, have been in the Possession of our declared Enemy? And may we not justly apprehend, that if France in Conjunction with Spain, were left at Liberty to exert herself on the side of Italy, the Ports of the Mediterranean must soon fall into her hands. You have here, Sir, very fairly stated the Natural Consequences of our not interfering in the Affairs of the Continent. But it is surprising such a Confession should come from you,

unless

unless you will own, that you have changed your *Opinion* as well as your *Conduct*. It is true, that by way of Preface to this memorable Passage, you say, *That you have constantly opposed, and still detest those Measures that have brought this Land-war upon us; yet it now becomes our Duty to get out of it as well as we can.* That is to say in other words, you have constantly opposed the Measures taken by this Country to defend her Allies, to protect her Commerce, and to oppose the ambitious and destructive Views of the House of *Bourbon*; but however, since we were engaged in this Romantick Cause; and you should have added, since your *Friends* had got *Places*; you were determined to support it. Happy had it been for this Country if the Breach between our Ministers had not induced them to have Recourse to so rotten

a Support. But the haughty and incompatible Manners of the Minister, who conducted our Foreign Affairs, had put his Fellow-servants under the Necessity of resolving to co-operate with him no longer. All those, who wished well to the Common Cause, were extremely grieved at seeing this Necessity; and I dare venture to say, that no Person was more grieved at it, than the Honourable Gentleman, whom you treat so unworthily, after all his Kindness and Condescension to your Friends, as to affirm; *That he was, during a long Administration, aiding and abetting those wicked Measures, that have laid the Foundation of all the Calamities, that afflict this Country.* That Gentleman foresaw the great Hazard of removing a Minister, who was known by all *Europe* to have been the principal Spring of the vigorous Measures

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asures taken by this Country; he saw our Allies would apprehend that the old Tory Game was to be plaid over again; he knew they had not forgot the famous Treaty of *Utrecht*; and in order to dissipate those Apprehensions, it was found necessary to give the strongest Assurances to all our Allies, that the Removal of the late Minister should not occasion any Change of Measures, but that the War on the *Continent* should be carried on with more Vigour than ever.

These Assurances were so Publick, that it was not possible for your Friends to be Strangers to them, and yet you very gravely tell us; *That a noble Person, who undertook to treat with you, gave you the strongest Assurances of the good Intentions of the new Ministry for a total Change of Measures.* What may have passed
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in your private Meetings none can say, but those, who are initiated into your dark Mysteries. But had your three noble Plenipotentiaries made such a Demand as *a total Change of Measures*, it had been received with the Contempt it deserved. No, Sir, the *Sine quâ non*, of your further Prosecution of the War, was the removing of those you accused of having deserted you, and the installing of your Leaders in their Places. This is well known to have been the Basis of your Treaty, as it was the great matter of Triumph at your *independent* Meetings. Here, Sir, let us consider how you marshal the different Parties. *One Party*, you say, *was discovered by the Report of the Secret Committee, to have been concerned in as black a Scene of Iniquity and Corruption, as ever was laid before a Parliament.* There was

another Set of Gentlemen, *who*, you say, *had it in their Power to have unloosed the Bands of Corruption, and to have repaired the Breaches of the Constitution, but chose rather to bargain for Favour in the Closet, by screening the Crimes of their Predecessors.* There was thirdly, your *High and Mighty Selves*, who owe your Seats to a voluntary Struggle of the People against the Corruption of the Times, and who were Neuters in the Quarrel between the other two Parties. There was besides, Three noble Lords and Company, whom you describe as a Party of Swiss, desirous of taking Advantage from this Struggle, and choosing to turn to those, whose Interest it seemed to be, to make the greatest Concessions, That is, in plain English, ready to take any Side for Pay.

You

You then let us into the Secret, that this *Swiss Company* had made their Bargain before *the Meeting of Parliament*: And that, *when Gentlemen came to Town, one of those noble Persons undertook to treat with you.* That is, they had sold themselves without your Privy, and were then desirous to deal for the selling of you.

You then represent yourselves in a terrible Dilemma, situated between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, *not knowing how to steer a Vessel so near its Destruction.* Should you not rather have compared yourselves to a certain grave Animal starving between two Bundles of Hay, which tho' allured on each side by store of Provender, lost, upon mature Consideration, the Opportunity of feeding on either.

You

You tell us, that the Gentlemen, whose Characters you propose to vindicate, were, on their first coming to Town, solicited to take Places with unusual Application. Pray, Sir, be so good as to let us into another Secret. Was this *humble Application* made to your *High Mightinesses* by the Ministers with the Approbation of their Master? Or did the *noble Lord* sollicite you to take Places, which were afterwards to be extorted from a Person, who, by the Law of *England*, ought to act without controul? Or (which is perhaps nearer the Truth) did not you declare publicly, that you would accept of no Places, after you had discovered that there were no Places for you? For by your own Account, the Change was made before the *noble Lord* undertook to treat with you: The *Deserters* had been punished; your

Allies

Allies had been rewarded; the *old Corps* was not to be touch'd; where then were the *Places*, that the *noble Lord* so humbly offered, and you so heroically refused?

You say, that *you considered the Opportunity now offered, as the last, of propping up a falling Nation, in hopes of some further Assistance, to re-establish it on a more solid Foundation.* As far as I can see thro' this veil of Metaphor, I should rather apprehend, that you had considered this as an Opportunity of undermining one Government, in order to establish another on its ruins. If so, I am sure it is high time for all those, who have the Support of the present Constitution at Heart, to forget all old Animosities, and to unite in frustrating the dark Machinations of a Party, whose bold and open Attempts they have always defeated.

You

You now come to the Point, and assure your Constituents; that; *tho'* you desired to be excused from any Share in Employments, yet you were not unmindful of preparing Remedies to restore the Constitution to it's former Vigour. And you then give us an *Authentick Copy* of the *Propositions*, which you put into the Hands of the *noble Lord* as the Foundation of your *Union* with the new Ministry. But you take care to assure us; *That you made no Promises to your Friends: God knows! It was not in your Power, at that time, to make Promises.* Pray, Sir, have you not yet learnt from your Intercourse with the *noble Lord*, that the making of Promises, and the performing of them are two things?

But to return to the nine Articles you have exhibited; you do not pretend to say, that they were in-

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sisted upon, or even produced by your Plenipotentiaries; they knew what they were about too well to make such Articles the *Cement* of a *Co-alition*. Nay, I am credibly informed, that the Honourable Person they treated with, never saw those Articles, till they were printed under the Title of *Broad-bottom Promises*. One would indeed imagine by the Pomp with which you have introduced them, that your Friends had framed a new *Petition of Right*, in Consequence of *their having persevered for thirty Years in a constant Opposition against all the Incroachments of Power*. But when these *famous Articles* are fairly considered, they will appear to be the Production of Heads as little acquainted with the manner of *Redressing Grievances*, as with the true *State* of the Nation. Some of them are so vague

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and general, and others so trifling and minute, that the former appear to be only plausible Excuses for your accepting of Places, if you could obtain them; and the latter are calculated to answer little *Provincial* Considerations, in which the *Body* of the *People* of *England* are no ways concerned.

One of your general Propositions is, *That such Measures only be pursued, as shall be consistent with the Interest of Great-Britain.* Pray, Sir, do you think any Minister could be so weak as to say, No, to this Proposition? Or do you think he would be tied down to any thing by assenting to it? Had you been in earnest, and had you understood the Business you pretended to undertake; *The reforming of the State*; should you not have specified the *Measures* which appeared to you inconsistent with the
Interest

Interest of *Great-Britain*? Should you not have declared explicitly what were the *Measures* you approved of, and then having insisted, that *these* should have been pursued, and *those* avoided? This would have been doing something, this would have given you an Opportunity of shewing your Abilities, and might have induced the Honourable Person you treated with, to have taken some of you under his *Protection*. But this was as much above your Reach, as it was wide of your Intention. All that you wanted was a general Proposition to declaim upon in your *County Clubs*. The Ministers were to declare, that their Measures should be consistent with the Interest of *Great-Britain*; the best Employments were to fall to your Share, and then you would, no doubt, have proclaimed through the Nation, that

you had obtained a new *Magna Charta* for the People. But do you think your Constituents would have been satisfied with this? Do you take them for a Parcel of froward Children, that you imagine you could stop their whimpering with such a mouthful of whipt Sillabub? They have fed too long on honest Beef and Pudding to be content to sit down to so meagre a Repast.

Another of your general Propositions is, *That there be as great Savings as possible in all Parliamentary Grants, and that a Spirit of Oeconomy be carried thro' the whole.* A Spirit of Oeconomy is indeed greatly wanted both in Publick and Private, but is it to be obtained by such a vague Proposition? As to the other part of this Article, *Savings in Grants*, it is what, I hope, never to see. Let the Publick Expences
be

be reduced as low as is consistent with the Safety and Honour of the Nation, but let the *Grants* rather exceed than fall short of the *Expence*. It was by *Savings in Grants* that the Affairs of this Nation were ruined in the Reign of King *William*. Your Predecessors the Tories of those times did indeed *grant so sparingly*, that all the Labours of that great Defender of the Liberties of *Europe* were fatally frustrated; and he was, by a *Faction* at home, obliged to accept of loose Securities and a precarious Peace; such a Peace as left a full Scope to *France*, to exert her Ambition, and to make a fairer Push for Universal Monarchy, than ever she had done before. It is to those *Savings* that we owe the immense Expences of Queen *Anne's* War, and the vast load of Debt we now groan under; and to such

Savings,

Savings, had our Ministers been weak enough to consent to them, we might owe the Loss of our Commerce, our Liberty, and our Religion.

Your other general Proposition is; *That when the Circumstances of Affairs shall permit, such a Reduction of the Army be made, as shall be consistent with the Liberties of a free People.* Is this one of the *reasonable Securities* engaged for by your noble Plenipotentiary? Is this the *Something to be done for the Constitution*, without which it was in vain for the Ministers to expect your Assistance? Was ever such a loose indeterminate Proposition insisted upon by the *Advocates for the People*, as the *Redress of a Grievance*? The *Persons, to whom you turned for Relief*, had been, as you say, deeply concerned in a very dark Scene; and
you

you profess yourselves ready and willing to support them upon a Promise; *That when Circumstances shall permit, right things shall be done.* Surely such a Conduct needs no Comment.

I would however advise your Friends, before they set up to be *Constitution-menders*, to study the Proceedings of your House on the *Petition of Right*. They will there find with what Steadiness and Inflexibility the *Patriots of those times* pursued their Point; how they eluded all the ambiguous and shuffling Answers returned to them; and how they persisted, till their Petition received an *explicite* and *legal* Answer in full *Parliament*. But, indeed, their Ends and yours were very different; they did not press to obtrude themselves into the Service of the Crown; they did not gape for Employments

Employments they were incapable of filling; and therefore were not satisfied with such loose and general Promises as might throw Dust into the Eyes of their Constituents, and might excuse or palliate their Change of Conduct; they well knew what a slippery Race of Courtiers they had to deal with, and therefore they tied them down with *legal* Bonds.

I have done with your general Propositions, and shall now consider those of a more particular Nature.

One of these seems to promise some Regard for the Publick, *That there be an Inquiry into the State and Management of the Navy*. But if you were in earnest upon this Point, if you did not intend to make it a Stalking-horse for your Private Purposes, why have we not seen the Effects of it? If your three Lords did really make so plain a Demand,

Demand, can it be imagined they would be satisfied with a general or evasive Answer? No, Sir, we must in that Case suppose, that this Article was either granted or refused. If it was refused, how came your Friends to support Ministers, who could refuse so reasonable a Demand? If it was granted, why did you lose the lucky minute? Why did you not seize the Opportunity, while you were happy in a Minister, who was never suspected of being concerned in any mean or dirty Job, and who, consequently, could be under no Temptation of protecting others in Practices, which he scorned and detested. Do not your Friends and Allies preside in the Admiralty? All the Practices of the inferior Offices lie open to their View and Inspection, no Subterfuge can cover Guilt from their Penetration and Sagacity,

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and

and a Committee of the House of Commons, furnished with Lights by such an able and disinterested Board, would soon have discovered all the Mysteries of the subordinate Offices. Why then did you *dose* away the Session, till a Gentleman, no ways connected either with the Ministers or with you, set on foot an Inquiry into the Affair of the *Mediterranean*? And yet you presume to take *Merit to yourselves on this Account*, and say, *This is the first Session of thirty Years, wherein any thing has been done towards a Reformation of Abuses*. What then, Sir, since it was not done by you? The Ardour and Impartiality, with which that Affair was carried on, will indeed do Honour to *Parliament*, but it will do no Honour to *your Friends*, that this Inquiry was set on foot not by their Means, and that it was
chiefly

chiefly managed by an *old Courtier*, much to his Credit and Honour. On the contrary, it will ever be a *Reproach* to you, that you did not seize that Opportunity of establishing a *general Inquiry*, which you profess to think so necessary.

All your other particular Articles (except one, which indeed deserves a separate Consideration) are so trifling, when viewed in a great *National* Light, that they scarce deserve mention. Tho' I am inclined to believe, that the Article relating to the new modelling of the Commissions of the Peace was the *Darling* of your Leaders. Perhaps this is the only *Clew*, by which their inconsistent Conduct in the last Session can be unravelled. Their Hopes and Fears for this *favourite Brat* will account for their supporting some Measures, for their silent and sullen

Behaviour on other Occasions, and for their opposing, at last, the Vote of Credit, without which all the vast Supplies, *they* gave early in the Session, would have been entirely useless. No Estimates can provide for innumerable Accidents, that happen in War, and without some Latitude of this kind, it would not be possible either to pursue our good Fortune, or to repair our Losses; and therefore in time of War, Confidence must be reposed in Ministers to a certain Degree. And, surely, in the Situation, to which your Friends had reduced our Affairs, it became them, least of all Men, to oppose this Confidence. For you tell us, that it was one of your Articles, *That the sixteen thousand Hanoverians shall not be continued in English Pay, but that other Troops, if necessary, be provided in their stead.*

Head. Pray, Sir, did not your Friends know at the time when they opposed the Vote of Credit, that no other Troops were provided instead of the *Hanoverians*? Did they not know, that we were under a Stipulation, made by a *favourite of your own*, to furnish forty thousand Men to carry on the War in *Flanders*? Did they not know, that we had but twenty four thousand National Troops there? And yet with all these *Facts* within your Knowledge, and after you had loaded your Constituents with six millions and upwards for the Service of this Year, you refused your Concurrence to a Vote of Credit for five hundred thousand Pounds, without which the whole Machine must have stood still. And now, Sir, give me leave to ask you one plain Question. Was it not a few Days, perhaps a few Hours before

before this Opposition, that the new Commissions of the Peace all over *England* were refused you?

But this last Article is of so extraordinary a Nature that I must have a little more Discourse with you about it. It was plainly framed to give an Air of Consistency to your Conduct in one Point, which you did not propose to maintain in any thing else.

All Arts had been used to raise a Ferment in the Nation on the employing of those Troops, every Argument that Spleen could suggest, every Tale that Malice could amplify or invent, had been industriously spread in your weekly Libels. *Hanover* Troops had been the common Topick, on which the Declaimers in your House had exhausted their Rhetorick. They had desired that their Lives might take their Colour

lour from their Conduct in Relation
 to *Hanover*. These Arts had an
 Effect, a Flame was raised for a Sea-
 son, but Time, and the Reason of
 Things had brought the Nation
 pretty well to their Senses again. It
 was grown to be the general Opi-
 nion, that as long as the State of Af-
 fairs should oblige us to keep a Body
 of *British* Forces in *Flanders*, it
 would be also necessary to maintain
 a Body of Auxiliaries there; nay, it
 came to be generally said, that since
 Foreign Troops were necessary, those
 of *Hanover* were, at least, as eli-
 gible as any other. But your Friends
 had advanced too far to return to
 their Senses with the Body of the
 Nation. They were however desi-
 rous to Merit the Favour of the new
 Ministry, and therefore promised to
 support their Measures, provided
 this one Point was yielded; nay, Sir,
 you

you know, that they engaged to give Money to pay those very Troops, provided it did not *appear* by an *Estimate*, that they were continued in our Pay. This you have done, and done it *amply*, for you threw in a Sum of fifty seven thousand Pounds, for their March-Money home, tho' you knew, they were still to be paid by *Great-Britain*. Thus did you compleat the strangest Bargain that ever was made for the Publick; you obtained by a Present of fifty seven thousand Pounds, that sixteen thousand Men should be dismissed out of our Service, who were still to be continued in our Pay. Happy had it been for this Country if the Complaisance of our Ministers, had not enabled you to plume yourselves upon this Appearance of Consistency in your Conduct; we should then have had the Assistance of this whole

Body

Body of Troops in the late unhappy Action near *Tournay*; and who can say what turn an Addition of eight thousand Men might have given to an Affair, in which we were baffled by the Superiority of Numbers? May the *Manes* of our brave Countrymen, who fell a Sacrifice there to your Conduct in Parliament, inspire the People of *England* with a due Sense of your Deserts! I hope, at least; that your Friends will now cease to accuse the Troops of *Hannover* of Cowardice, since they have given such an ample Testimony to the contrary, in seconding our gallant Countrymen in one of the boldest Attacks that ever was made; and have sealed it with so plentiful an Effusion of their Blood. That we had the Assistance of the remaining eight thousand was not owing to

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your

your good Will, for it was the declared Intention of your Friends, that they should immediately quit our Service. How they came notwithstanding to remain in *Flanders*, I cannot state more clearly and concisely than you have done. *That when eight thousand of these Troops marched to join Duke D'Arenberg on the lower Rhine, the States General with great Earnestness desired the Continuance of the remaining eight thousand, whose Pay expired the twenty fourth of December, to enable them to evacuate their Garrisons, and to send their Forces to the Rhine; and what was stronger, the English General represented, that by withdrawing such a Body from Flanders, the English Troops would be left exposed to the Enemy. Thus the Wisdom of the States General, and the*

Prudence

Prudence of our Officers have, by your own Confession, preserved us from feeling the full Effects of your good Intentions. To illustrate which, I shall add a few Lines out of your Letter, as they afford the most *glaring Proof*, that you acted with your Eyes open, that you saw the Danger into which you were about to plunge your Country, and yet were determined to rush on, in order to throw a ridiculous flimsy Veil over your Conduct. You tell us, *That Great-Britain dismissed the Hanover Troops from her Service, at a time when she knew not where to find others to replace them; at a time when she was straining every Nerve to make her last Effort on the Continent; and at a time when her Honour, her Commerce, and I might almost say, her very Being depended on the Success of*

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that

that Effort. Are these things so, Sir, and do your Friends glory in being the sole Authors of this Dismission? Can any Words paint in stronger Colours the Folly and Iniquity of your Conduct? Unless ---- But I am unwilling to suppose, there are any among you, who have so far forgot their Duty to God, their King, and their Country, as to wish, that this Nation may be plunged into such deep Distress, as may give some glimmering hopes of Success to a baffled, sunk, and desperate Cause. This indeed would shew some *Consistency* in your *Conduct* last Session, but it is such a *Consistency*, as must raise Horror and Indignation in every honest *British* Breast. This would explain your loading the Nation with more than six millions for the Service of the Year, and your
endeavouring

endeavouring to make those immense Grants uselefs by opposing the Vote of Credit: But I am unwilling to suppose, that there can be one Wretch so abandoned among Gentlemen, who have frequently reiterated the most solemn Assurances of their Allegiance to the present Government.

I have now done with your Articles, but before I have done with you, I must ask you some Questions, in the name of your Constituents, about your Sins of Omission last Session.

How happened it that there was not one Meeting at your beloved *Fountain-Tavern*? Were not your *Leaders* frequently called upon to summon one, in order to *submit their Actions to the Publick Censure*?
Did

Did they not as constantly *decline* it? To what could this be owing but to a *Consciousness of Guilt*? You say, *that you have not been moved by private Views or indirect Influence*; then why have none of you proposed some of those popular Bills, which you have, for many Years, assured us were so much wanted? Why have you not examined into one of the many *Abuses either Civil or Military*, which (you say) have brought such a Load of *Unpopularity, and Odium on former Administrations, as to make them stink in the Nostrils of the People*? I could say much more to you on this Head, but will only now advise you, to be well assured, that you can answer these, and many more such

Questions

Questions to the Satisfaction of your
Constituents, before you set up to
be *Redressers* of Grievances, and
Tribunes of the People.

F I N I S.

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